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chief Ropkᵱ', and opposite him chief Kukrãčᵱ', who calls Ropkᵱ' his uncle, was delivering the funeral oration. When the women put the corpse on Ropkᵱ''s lap he began to cry aloud and desperately, while Kukrãčᵱ' rose and went to the plaza to arrange for the digging of the grave. In the meantime the boy's maternal uncle who was to have transferred his name to the child arrived on the scene, likewise took the corpse on his lap, and fell to crying violently. Kentapí called my attention to the fact that neither she nor her mother took hold of the corpse lest the child of her sister Iromkré, who was still in her lying-in retreat, should cry constantly.

In the plaza the chief asks who wishes to dig the grave. A volunteer always comes forward, but it must not be a member of the dead man's exogamous moiety. The mode of remunerating his and the corpse decorators' services has been described (p. 102).

Formerly, when secondary burial was still in vogue, the deceased was first buried behind his mother's home, except for a hąmren (p. 98). When I visited the Krahõ' in 1930, these Indians seemed to have still maintained the custom of burial behind the house; the Rąmkõ'kamekra of today would at most follow it in the case of an infant.

The grave is more or less 2 meters in depth. Formerly it was round, and the corpse was put in there in a sitting posture, facing east.[88] At present, at least among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the grave is exclusively rectangular, the corpse lying extended on its back.

If the death occurs in the morning, the burial takes place in the evening; if a person dies in the evening, he is buried the following morning and there is an all-night lament near the corpse. If the deceased man's prominence draws many related persons to the spot, a kinsman kills a pig, which is hurriedly prepared for the entertainment of those present. Part of the food is then put in a gourd for the dead man, an elderly woman several times holding a morsel close to his mouth.

The mats on which the corpse rests are folded over it and tied firmly at both ends and in the middle. Then the bundle is hung to a pole, which two men carry to the cemetery—at present from one and a half to two kilometers from the village. A few additional mats are taken along for the adjustment of the grave. None of the Timbira tribes throws earth directly on the corpse, as reported for the Põrekamekra by Pohl, who does not, however, seem to have attended a funeral; and the grave described by Ribeiro was presumably not a Timbira's, as he assumes, but that of a Gamella of Vianna.[89] The opening of the grave is covered with transversely laid pieces of wood, which are topped with mats before heaping up earth. Lest the heat of the sun annoy the deceased, twigs and palm fronds are put on this mound; sometimes the grave is fenced with old racing logs to keep out roaming domestic pigs. (See pl. 26, *b*).

At least nowadays there are no funeral deposits except that a woman's carrying basket may be laid on her mound along with a gourd bowl, her spindle, and the like.

The next of kin never accompany the corpse to its grave, but remain seated in the house of mourning, weeping probably another half hour at the empty spot where it had been resting. Then they have themselves sprinkled with water in front of the house "in order to remove the dead man's perspiration," a service which is paid for. The house and the space before it are always swept.

Like the Apinayé,[90] the Canella believe that the shadow of a person who dies "hungry," that is, has not for some time prior to his demise taken any food, will return to his mother's home in search of sustenance. Their procedure is quite like

[88] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Snethlage, Nordostbras, 173.
[89] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Ribeiro, Memoria, § 26–28.
[90] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 132.

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that of the Apinayé: the relatives stimulate a hunt, prepare a meat pie, and at nightfall set it on a little scaffold behind the house in the steppe, with a gourd bowl full of water. While the rest of the people are dancing in the plaza, an old man watches near by until he hears a rustling in the leafy wrapper of the pie. Then he announces to the others: "He has already eaten!" Thereupon the councilors have the pie brought to the plaza, where they distribute it among themselves.

In 1935 I witnessed an unusual funeral ceremony. Kwqirẽ're, a young woman of about nineteen, had died in confinement. She had been the girl associate of the kapranpotîkama age class and because of her gentle, amiable disposition enjoyed extraordinary popularity. Since by virtue of her office she was hąmrén, her corpse had falcon down glued on and its cheeks were decorated with small black triangles. Thus it lay on a mat opposite the door, surrounded by her wailing tribesmen.

In the meantime her age class assembled in the plaza, where they sat down in a line, while a precentor slowly shook his rattle and sang in an undertone. At last they rose, trotted toward the house of mourning, entered, and formed a line on both sides of the door, facing the corpse, continuing to sing with muffled voices, and adumbrating dance movements. Suddenly three of them stepped up to the corpse, one of them raising it from the rear and setting it on its feet, while his two companions took her arms. Thus they executed with the dead woman characteristically feminine dance movements, making her bend the knees slightly and move her arms, which were flexed at right angles, backward and forward. The lament swelled into a terrific hubbub, men, women, and children all howling in savage desperation. The corpse's pale, decorated countenance, over which a half-indifferent smile seemed to glide, contrasted oddly with the grief-distorted, tear-stained faces of the mourners. The macabre dance lasted only a few seconds, then the three laid down the body, folded the mats over it, tied up the bundle, and lifted it to their shoulders without the customary attachment to a pole. With it they ran outdoors, followed by their classmates, and disappeared at a trot. Thus the class carried their dead associate to her grave after having once more made her dance before them as of yore.

Formerly all the Timbira practiced secondary burial. Among the Põrekamekra Pohl obtained the following account:

Nach Verlauf eines Jahres versammelt sich die Gemeinde wieder unter denselben Ausdrücken der Trauer an dem Grabe; es wird geöffnet, der Körper herausgenommen, hingelegt, und nun erzählt man ihm alles was sich seit seinem Tod in der Aldea im Allgemeinen und in seiner Familie im Besondern zugetragen hat. Hierauf werden die Gebeine des Verstorbenen mit Urucú rot bemalt, und zur abermaligen Beerdigung nach dem allgemeinen Begräbnisplatz getragen.

Until some twenty years ago the Canella still maintained secondary burial in individual cases, at least for the hąmrén; for the rest of the population the custom had fallen into desuetude. Formerly, the secondary interment took place three or five years after the first. The most appropriate person to execute it was the husband of the widow's sister; and if a bachelor undertook the job, he thereby acquired a certain claim to the hand of the widow's unmarried sister. Unfortunately I do not know what preferential conditions obtained at the secondary burial of a woman.

The bones were scraped clean with an implement from the leafstalk of a bacaba palm and were painted with urucú. Then they were wrapped up in cotton threads specially spun for the purpose by the dead person's mother (or a kinswoman acting as her substitute) and tied together. Finally the remains were put into a burity bag and buried in a shallow hole in the cemetery.

The period of mourning and the rules of inheritance are described elsewhere (pp. 126, 158).

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tamed peccary (taitetú). The pąrare race and probably the pereá hunt also, with the subsequent race, may be secondary transfers from ketúaye to pepyé.

The principal object of ketúaye is manifestly to bring the boys into contact with the spirits of the dead—a singular association of religion with the socioceremonial organization of this tribe (cf. p. 163). This communion, helpful and necessary for the boys, is fraught with danger for all inexperienced persons. This basic idea finds expression not only in the origin myth, which reports how the several ceremonies and songs of the spirits were furtively seen and overheard, but also in such acts as the feeding of the boys with invisible victuals. Evidently the original belief was that the spirits, lured by their own songs as regularly chanted by the boys, enter the bodies of the novices, who henceforth behave like the spirits themselves until these are removed by ablutions and flagellation. Hence the race with the miniature logs of the spirits.

However, no contemporary Canella clearly grasps this conception. While some informants offer explanations and suggestions wholly in harmony with mine, others search for all sorts of rationalistic or even therapeutic warrants *ad hoc*, exposing the secondary character of their interpretations. These men are honestly convinced that all ceremonial exists for its own sake exclusively and do not bother their heads over questions of origin and significance.

The Apinayé, who in general are somewhat more religiously inclined, wholly lack the notion of a communion between novices and spirits at initiation.

Quite different is the object of pepyé, said to have originated in the voluntary seclusion of two boys for the express purpose of developing as rapidly as possible into strong young men—not in order to marry, but in order to avenge their parents, killed by a man-eating giant falcon. The avowed purpose of entering as a boy and suddenly emerging as a handsome young man, according to Indian standards of beauty, is too transparent a notion to have escaped even the attention of Neo-brazilian neighbors. Any settler when questioned will at once explain that the Indians shut up their lads in a *chiqueiro* (pigsty) and marry them off after forced feeding designed to enhance their virility.

Actually graduation from the entire initiation cycle was a prerequisite to matrimony, but by no means rendered immediate marriage obligatory. For one thing, the age of the initiates would range from fifteen to twenty-five, while males rarely took a wife before they were twenty. However, the pepyé festival does include instructions about the choice of spouses and married life, and the terminal ceremony, in which their prospective mothers-in-law lead the initiates by a rope, drastically represents the impending union.

Thus, the ketúaye is basically a religious performance, while the pepyé belongs to the social sphere.

I shall now present the origin myth of the ketúaye and then describe my own observations; this will be followed by parallel data on the pepyé.

KETÚAYE

Origin myths.—The great falcon Hąkti had devoured so many villagers that the survivors decided to flee. A boy who had been delayed in a plantation and knew nothing of this decision was left behind. When at last he went home and entered the deserted village, he saw in the plaza a crowd of dancing and singing figures who were painted red. He was about to walk up to them at once, when the shade of his deceased uncle warned him to go round the outside of the village. The souls of the dead in the plaza, however, had already noticed him. "Look, there is a boy coming!" cried one. "He is mine!" cried another. "No, mine!" exclaimed a third. The boy fled, but outside the settlement he climbed a lofty tree, from which he could survey the plaza. Thence he saw how something was being brought to the souls from the houses. They knelt down, cupped their hands

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821 772 without the stars of the hook on the tail. It stood along the ostrich's path and he threatened to knock it down, but it begged to be spared since it would kill many people if it fell to the earth. Accordingly, the ostrich passes close beside this palm.

Another constellation near the galaxy, which I was never able to grasp, is called kapúre (= jahó, *Tinamus* sp.).

In Magellanic Cloud they see Auké's ashes (p. 245).

821 789 Against lightning, which they greatly fear because of its frequently observed effects on steppe trees, they resort to magic. A native will put the leaves of olho de boi (ropnto, jaguar eye) on his head and wave them toward the thunderstorm, saying, "mekričwąye, amekaprinare witáiye!"

821 772 The Krẽyé of Bacabal have a tale in which the storm figures as a tapir. The same story was heard among the descendants of the Gamella of Vianna.[88]

The rainbow (tanyõčwụdn, person of the rain) has its two ends resting in the open mouths of two sucuriju snakes, which themselves yield rain. It appears as a sign that the rain has ceased. When the rainbow disappears, two eel-like fish, pụpeyre (Neobraz.: muçum), rise to the sky, where they drop into a water hole. When there is a heavy rain they again drop back into the terrestrial water. One informant said that snakes ascended to the sky by the rainbow lest there be too many here on earth.

In the sky dwell carrion vultures under their chief, the king vulture, and falcons. They have human shape there, organize log races and celebrate festivals.

There is an underworld (ikrakripyẽ). According to a tale a man hunting an armadillo broke through the ground, tumbling into the underworld. "When he turned round, he noticed that he was on a steppe, but round about no living being was to be seen, not even a bird; everything near and far was still." The Šerénte tell a similar story, which they connect with their kwiudẽ'ndá racing logs, which they derive from said armadillo.

Animism

774 775 Every human being and every animal has a soul. Plants "perhaps" also have a soul, but theirs plays no part. At death the soul leaves the body through the mouth; nobody knows how and where it enters the body. The soul of a dead person, the distinct shadow cast by him, and his image are all called mekarõ. I have no evidence for belief in a temporary departure of the soul from a living body. Contrary to Apinayé theory, sickness is not imputed to temporary soul loss,[89] and the medicine-man's shadow is not supposed to roam about in order to learn what is going on at a distance. Accordingly, during a man's lifetime his soul does not play an independent role of practical significance.

775 [771] It becomes all the more prominent after death; indeed, communion with the souls of the dead is the most conspicuous part of Eastern Timbira religion and forcibly struck Pohl among the Põrekamekra:

> Auch hier [i.e. in the cemetery for secondary burial] besuchen die Indianer noch oft die Grabhügel ihrer entschlafenen Lieben und erzählen ihnen alle Vorfallenheiten, fest überzeugt, dass die Verstorbenen sie hören und Anteil nehmen können. Diese Sitte erschien mir stets sehr rührend, und ich gestehe, dass ich oft innig bewegt diese guten Menschen so an den Gräbern sitzen sah.

However, I never observed this form of devotion near the graves. Further, I have neither discovered a belief in everlasting rewards or punishments, such as Pohl ascribes to these natives, nor ever heard that a soft rustling noise revealed the approach of the spirits.

The spirits of the dead usually reside in village-like communities in the localities

[88] Nimuendajú, Vokabular und Sagen der Crengás, 635; The Gamella, 13.
[89] The Apinayé, 144.

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where they lived or were buried, that is, especially on old camp sites and in cemeteries, the will-o'-the-wisps occasionally rising from the ground of the latter being conceived as the spirits' camp fires. However, at times the souls also appear singly and in other places. Otherwise inexplicable shouting (mekaprẽp), such as occasionally resounds at night in steppes and woods, is ascribed to roaming spirits. Another abode is below the water of the Lake Kukąmóroča (p. 249).

Apart from some peculiarities due to their shadowy character, the souls lead an existence very similar to that of the living. They are neither more nor less happy. The spirits of old people, such as parents, grandparents and the grandparents' siblings, are credited with greater knowledge than is within the ken of the living; some declare that they know "everything." Accompanying their living relatives, they protect them wherever possible, drive away poisonous snakes from their path, and appear to them in waking hours or dreams in order to warn them against misfortune. Normally they are invisible; but if they so desire they can turn visible even in the middle of the day, either in their mortal shape or in some beast's. At night their sudden appearance, as a rule of but momentary duration, strikes terror into the visionary's heart, so that he will remain ill for days—notwithstanding the fact that these spirits are not hostile to man.

The story of Yawę' (p. 246) gives a tolerably clear picture of the relations between the living and the dead. The hero receives every kind of aid from the spirits and through intimate contact with them ultimately acquires the power to transform himself into an animal.

Around a dying Indian's bed the spirits of his deceased kin assemble. Sometimes, even some time before he breathes his last, they will persuade him to adopt their customs, to cease eating and speaking. These spirits accompany the corpse to the grave and, rejoicing to have the person in their midst now, they will conduct his soul to its new resting place. Souls of sucking babes are taken by a maternal uncle or corresponding kinsman. On the way to the hereafter the soul gets to a brook bridged by a thin, swaying tree; if the soul should slip off, it will be converted into an aquatic animal.

In general the relations between the living and the dead are wholly individual, but in the ketúaye they assume tribal character (p. 171). Here there are involved the totality of prospective initiates and the entire company of souls of the dead. As explained, it is difficult to get an explicit interpretation of this relationship from the present-day Indians, who obviously are not quite clear on the point. However, I cannot doubt that the principal object of the festival is to establish contact of the boys with the spirits. With reference to the last celebration, in 1934, which I was unfortunately unable to attend, an authoritative informant explained: "When the ketúaye sing in the spirit language [the ayų'k chant], the spirits approach, wishing to take away their shadow-souls. If they succeeded, the individuals in question would die at once. That is why the boys' kinswomen sit behind the boys with hands on their shoulders, while their kinsmen stand in the rear."

Magic

The sun worship of these people is not connected with magic, or at least can do without it. In the instances on pages 131–132 one prayer is uttered accompanied by the magical use of urucú, while the other has no association with magic at all. The prayers themselves are wholly devoid of magical import. On the other hand, animism and magic are intimately linked. The tale of Yawę' illustrates the derivation of curative and magical knowledge from the spirits. Persons evincing ability and